

AFTER ARAFAT | HONEY, I SHRUNK THE INHERITANCE

# MAGLEAFAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | www.macleans.ca

NOVEMBER 8 2004

EXCLUSIVE  
BOOK EXCERPT

**PETER C.  
NEWMAN**

**DISHES** on magical  
PMs, celebrity secrets, and  
the private passions of  
Barbara Amiel

**PLUS**

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## THE NEWMAN-ESQUE WAY

Celebrating a man who's been a leading figure at Maclean's—and of the country

**AMID** THE pile of papers that always seem to find a home atop my office desk, one piece has had pride of place in the past month. It's a photograph Peter C. Newman sent of a letter written to him on Maclean's stationery on Oct. 13, 1954. "Dear Mr. Newman," it says, "both [Editors] Ralph Allen and I like your article on the Volkswagen and accordingly I'm sending a cheque for \$250. I hope that we'll be able to get you doing other articles

for Maclean's." Concluding with "Best wishes," it's signed by the magazine's managing editor of the day—Peter Barrow.

More than 30 years have passed since Peter began his association with the magazine with that letter—and both he and Barrow have gone on to much greater fame, wealth (and occasional notoriety) through their respective bestselling books and other ventures. But even in a field as incestuous as Canadian journalism—where everybody knows everybody, or pretends they do—it's remarkable to see the convergence of these of the greatest careers in the business (Allen was a legendary editor in his day) on the same page and in the same. But you might say that's typical Newman, finding a way even then to be at the center of events involving well-known Canadians—as he has continued to be, more often than not, ever since.

Our cover package this week (page 36) is—in a most Newman-esque way—a sort of celebration of a man who has been a leading figure in the life of this country and of this magazine as a columnist and, as editor for 11 years, creator of the present newsweekly format. Through his books, magazine articles and other forms of journalism, Peter has not only described the division in which Canadian society has been heading—he has also helped shape it. His 1962 book, *Ringside on Power: The Daily Insider Years*, gave Canadians an unprecedented behind-the-scenes look at the way politics really works—and by doing so, forever changed the way politics is reported on in Canada. His writing about the leading figures in Canadian business and social circles had a similar effect.

Peter's success is due in no small part to his ability to accomplish the ultimate journalist's pious wish: to intimate himself

“Peter intimates himself into places of power even while retaining an outsider's perspective.”

into an insider's position in places of power even as he has never lost his perspective to a self-described outsider. The result is the uncommonly close-up, witty—and all portraits are essentially provided of Canada's most prominent personalities.

Our package includes an interview with Peter in which he reflects on his life and the people he has known, and exclusive excerpts of his about-to-be-released memoir *More Mr. Dragon: Telling Tales of People, Politics and Power*. The subject is Barrow, Arnold and her roller-coaster ride from an obscure upbringing to her eventual position, alongside husband Conrad Black, to half of one of the world's most watched and discussed couples—up to and following their fall from grace. Peter gives a unique perspective for his part as “chief insider” to Arnold's journalistic career because he lived her as a columnist for this magazine in 1975—a post he kept until earlier this year. A second excerpt from his book appears next week—another account of that 50th anniversary of Peter's first introduction to Maclean's. Happy anniversary.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

request@maclean.ca or comment on The Editor's Letter

## MACLEAN'S

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“WE DIDN'T BUILD THIS I.T. SYSTEM. IT JUST KINDA GREW.”



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"Yes, let's have a pill to cure anything. That way, doctors can just write us a prescription and send us off to the closest Krispy Kreme fat factory." —*Kelley Bueck, Calgary*

#### Heart-care alert

Your article on cholesterol and preventing heart attacks with the use of statins was excellent ("The cholesterol cure," *Conor, Oct. 25*). I read it with great interest because high cholesterol and heart disease run in my husband's family. His brother as well as his father and uncle died of their 50s from heart problems. But in the article, one expert says that if you can stay on a treadmill for nine or 10 minutes, your chances of a heart attack are greatly reduced. Denzil, my husband's brother, was not overweight, did not smoke, ate very healthy foods and rode his bike about 20 km every week. He complained of shortness of breath constantly and often felt fatigued. He had a severe nose bleed before his death, and the doctor felt there was no problem. My husband's 57-year-old cousin had similar symptoms, but he died of a myocardial infarction which was 80 per cent blocked. Clearly, the treadmill test is not a good standard to judge a person's heart health.

*Bonnie Simpson, Fraser Creek, Alta.*

Despite your statement that diets can reduce cholesterol levels by only about five to 10 per cent, other research tells a more hopeful story. In the past two years, one research group, led by University of Toronto nutritional sciences professor David Jenkins, has published three peer-reviewed articles on the efficacy of a combination diet that lowers LDL cholesterol by almost 50 per cent. Studies show LDL cholesterol very effectively, but the purpose of achieving healthy heart is defeated if there is no corresponding change in dietary and lifestyle habits. The message, especially for the younger generation, is not to start taking statins merely as they eat, but to adopt a healthy diet and lifestyle.

*Doreen Reddy, St. Michael's Hospital, Toronto*

While statins generally are remarkably effective in their main objective of reducing cholesterol, I find statements like Dr. Lawrence Leiter's, that "all of the symptoms have positive," to be totally unacceptable. The



personally had at least two statin-related symptoms (joint aches, no, not just to myself), one potentially life-threatening, that would indicate a more work needs to be done before over-the-counter dispensing of statins should even be considered.

*Dave Brown, Lachrya, N.S.*

Maclean's has committed a serious error in the headline of its cover story "The cholesterol cure." A cure is defined many different ways, but every one it involves the restoration of health and eradication of disease so that it does not come back and no further treatment is required. At their best, statins only partially restore health and do nothing to eradicate the underlying disease. When

#### Cash cows | Who profits from couch potatoes with bad diets?

While doctors are entitled to have access to the medical drugs, some are suspicious of the companies that control the medical field. After reading our story on pharmaceuticals, it was Vancouver's John Howard writes, "It is not coincidental that the aggressive marketing efforts of drug giants coincide with our interest in specialty and making lifestyle changes."

patients go off statins, their cholesterol problem usually returns as do other heart disease symptoms. Having to take a drug for the rest of your life, still having heart disease symptoms and sometimes encountering persistent side effects described in your article is no way qualifies as a cure.

*Douglas McNeil, Victoria*

A societal attitude that puts huge resources towards a search for a drug cure for lifestyle-related diseases and shuns any personal responsibility for one's own health is a big reason why health care costs continue to go through the roof.

*Priscilla Tibbitts, neurophysiology and physical education, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ont.*

#### Dr. Laura replies

In your ScoreCard item "Seedlike radio," you suggest that Sirius Satellite Radio should pay me the kind of big dollars they paid Howard Stern to get me off public airwaves (*Upfront, Oct. 25*). While I appreciate your concern for my financial welfare, no amount of money could persuade me to stop trying to help and influence families on how to raise, love, nurture and supervise their own children, to get women to consider adoption instead of abortion, to convince men to stay connected to their children after a divorce, and teach people the value of honoring their obligations. I have become the air for three decades advising people to be better and do better, and the 10 years of consistent flow of thank you letters and words of gratitude are my greatest reward.

*Dr. Laura Schlesselman, Sherman Oaks, Calif.*

#### Freedom under fire

Thanks to John Goddard for his article on how fragile our freedom really is ("Are we safe enough?" *Politics, Oct. 25*). It's appalling that Canada, which calls itself free and democratic, could have legislation that allows it to arrest and detain anyone who is perceived as a threat. We can't prevent terrorism by becoming a police state, the only way we will be truly safe is if we stop allowing the U.S. to dictate our foreign policy and convert our multicultural and pluralistic nature.

*Roger McNeill, Inverness, P.E.I.*

#### Sub standards

While I commiserate with the family and friends of Lucie Chénier-Simpson and the other victims who suffered in HMCS

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Hurry! Contest runs from October 1 to November 12, 2004.



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## Justice | Steven Truscott's long quest for vindication

Once a 14-year-old boy on death row, Steven Truscott was for the longest time Canada's poster case for the shoddiness of capital punishment. His 1959 conviction for the rape and strangulation of grade-school friend Lynne Harper, 12, shocked and divided Canadians for decades. And all these years he's been proclaiming his innocence, through three court appeals and LSD truth experiments at Kingston penitentiary. Now Truscott, who was released on parole in 1989, has capital punishment lovingly (even contemptuously) put to rest for justice's slow god. And still there is more time on the clock.

Saying a marriage of justice "billy occurred," federal Justice Minister Irwin Cotler referred the Truscott file back to the Ontario Court of Appeal for an "open-

ness," right, with his wife Marlene and son Ryan, digesting Ottawa's decision. He had wanted a new trial.

... *asked* now that would also evaluate new evidence and prove only suppressed police files. This process will likely take another two to three years. For Truscott's family, who had gotten a hot guy, Ont., home with cake and champagne in the hope that Cotler would order a new trial, the justice minister's decision was a bitter disappointment. But those who waited for the hangman's knock in a very young age likely measure time in different ways than most, and he would tell a poster note. "They sentenced me to death once," he told a reporter, "so anything else is a plus."

**Quote of the week:** "They didn't look severely handicapped to me, I'll tell you that for sure. Both had cigarettes dangling from their mouths, and cowboy hats." Alberta Premier RALPH KLEIN talks on disabled insiders on the election trail.

## ScoreCard



**"CRUISING"** Journal of the Americas devotes *Twenty Steps* profiling the elderly on coast ships is almost as cheap as raising home care. Certainly a better exit strategy than being abandoned on ice floes. Guess post-T.S. that had it right: "Old men ought to be explorers."



**THOMAS DEMARSE** Florida professor creates *Franklin-Johnson* "living brain" in a dish. "Seems not across linked selves together to create 'living brain' able to control movement of aircraft simulation. Does world need living cells?"



**"SMOKEY"** SMITH Castelli is only living resident of Victoria Cross and his comrades return after 46 years to take a last ride. Get horses welcome in Ontario, where 1,175 *Clack* soldiers buried. Safe bet lower *SAINT* choice Don Cherry as CBC's greatest Canadian.



**PAUL CLIVTON** Returns to write *Outpost* for *Divine* 2004 campaign. "There is too much screaming and too little listening. There is too much whine and too little chutzpah." Arnes, bubble.

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## UPFRONT

### Mansbridge on the Record



## PAUSING TO REMEMBER

Canada's history is filled with heroic stories of men and women in warfare

I'D PASSED THE BLUE and gold roadside tips at least a dozen times before. But like so many other travellers on the Highway of 100 in southwestern Ontario, I hadn't stopped long enough to read the inscription. I could tell it was a historical marker, and that this one signalled a Victoria Cross winner had come from nearby. Fewer than 100 VCs have been handed out in our history—94 to be exact—and all are for acts of extreme heroism in wartime.

Finally, a few weeks ago, I stopped. It was early on a Sunday morning—people were chatting outside the nearby church as I walked up to the plaque. The marker told quite the story. It honoured a man who'd come from the little community of Corns (not used since 100 km northwest of Toronto). You wouldn't find it on many maps, and you can probably count the number of 'build traps' in town on your fingers and toes. But it's pretty and clean, and things look busy over at Mike's Auto, where the hand-painted sign promises expertise in both foreign and domestic cars.

Seward Lewis Horney was born here 110 years ago, probably when some of the grand old mans that surrounded Corns were mere shanties. He'd just become a teacher when

opening up new positions. By the fall of 1918, he'd become an officer, a junior one but an officer nonetheless—Lieut. Horney. And then on the waning days of the conflict, what so often happens in the tragedy that is war happened to him.

During a vicious battle in France's Bouleaux Wood, Horney suddenly found himself in command, all his senior officers lying bloodied and dead, and many of his soldiers battered and wounded. Looking at the carnage, he decided there was only one thing left to do. He struck out with a few men, captured the high ground and, alone, looked out the main German gun position, taking 10 enemy prisoners. Later, he did something similar, and then again a few days after that. But in that last encounter, Horney was hit by enemy fire—and this time there were no more heroes. He died on the battlefield. He was 24. It was for those remarkable few days that King George V agreed a Victoria Cross was in order.

After reading his story, I stood outside Corns for a few minutes, thinking of Seward Horney as I gazed at the spectacular autumn unfolding in the rolling countryside. It's entirely possible that as a youngster he'd stood in that same spot, and for that moment I chose to believe he had. What must he have thought in those far too few that he'd be forgotten before he left to save the Empire? What were his hopes for his future, and those of his students and his country?

There are many Seward Horney stories in our history, and not just those of VC winners—stories of men and women who served this country in times of need, including those who do so today. Some are remembered by roadside markers that we don't read often enough, while some are remembered only by families who feel the pain every day.

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of The National. To connect: [letterstomansbridge.ca](mailto:letterstomansbridge.ca)

### FaceTime

Fair target: He's never been a controversial figure, but Michael O'Sullivan's assertion that any different lands over it as a fair target for Palestinian suicide bombers has put him and the Canadian Islamic Congress, which he heads—in the spotlight. O'Sullivan is trying to win the hearts and minds of the voters and



says he was merely expressing the Palestinian point of view, not his own. But Ontario police are now investigating his TV remarks as a possible hate crime.



Cold comfort: It's been 54 years since 17-year-old Ned Steneveld was found frozen to death in a field outside Saskatoon, looking a little disappointed, despite what the officers said, and that marks on his face were caused by wind-cuts. The finding is cold comfort for the Steneveld family, but many head justice at the trial has now concluded Steneveld was made a police officer when he was 17, and that there is not enough direct evidence to lay charges.



Dyspeptic apathy: Another excuse for why Canada's swimmers didn't bring home any medals from the Athens Olympics? Brent Hayden, the Canadian 100 m freestyle record holder, now says he was beaten by cops with clubs at 3 a.m. as he was leaving a local nightclub, after returning into a crowd throwing bottles at a police car. Leaving aside what Hayden was doing up so late, he says the beating injured his arm and threw him into a pool of water, leaving him in pain for days.

## WORLD

**HAQ** Nearly 300 tonnes of specialized explosives—powerful enough to destroy huge buildings or trigger a nuclear warhead—have gone missing from a storage depot near Baghdad, the International Atomic Energy Agency reported. The material was supposedly guarded by U.S. forces, but no one has been able to account for it, and there are fears it's made its way to terrorists.

News of the onslaught dropped like a bomb in the dying days of the US presidential race, along with a Chinese hour revolution. Among them British and American scientists estimated that at least 100,000 Iraqis have died as a result of the war, and the UN is investigating land-mining in Iraq by giant Halliburton Co., the Houston contractor once run by Vice President Dick Cheney.

**THE COURT** The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously set the deciding vote in the 2000 presidential election with its ruling on Florida's controversial ballots. This year, in a heated race that one court challenge may be handicapped: Chief Justice William Rehnquist, 80, the tipping point in the current 5-4 case, suffers from a sick with thyroid cancer and spent most of last week in a Mary-  
land hospital.

ARMED Iraqi military continued to apply pressure to America's allies, threatening to

BY PATRICK LAMONTAGNE



**LITTLE PEOPLE** Some say they are once-habitat-like, but human, but once, long ago, on an island in the Pacific—and maybe elsewhere—there lived a race of tiny humans whose adults stood barely 2 meters high. Australian and Indonesian individuals used the skeletal remains, which date back well over 10,000 years, in an island near some 600 km from Bali, Dubbed Homo Floresiensis, after the island where they were found, they made tools and weapons and subsisted on light on young chimpanzees. Did sound and their little people.

behind a 34-year-old Japanese hostage and manjuring a Taliban woman who had been working for coalition forces in Bagram. Surgeons also executed two groups of almost 60 Iraqi soldiers and police recruits, in one case tying the bodies out in rows in a field. Meanwhile, in Afghanistan, Taliban rebels

kidnapped three foreign election workers, two of them women, in the capital, Kabul.

**ROOT MISTAKES** Thailand's prime minister refused to condemn his security forces for quelling a riot in the country's south, but acknowledged "mistakes" were made in transporting Muslim prisoners. At least 78 died in police custody, most from asphyxiation after being crammed in police vans for hours. There had been no riot.

**MARRIAGE** Britain is considering a law to ban forced marriages, on estimated 800 cases which take place each year among new arrivals from Southeast Asia, the government is also raising the consent age for arranged marriage to 18. Meanwhile, legislation in Pakistan sets the death penalty, in extreme cases, for honour killings, a barbaric custom in which hundreds of women are murdered yearly by family members for marrying for love or earning an inadequate dowry.

**PIRACARRA** Modern British justice came to Piracarra Island in the South Pacific, more than 200 years after the Marston of

men women. But it's been tempered with a lot of inland pragmatism. A judge convinced us men—half the adult male population—of fraying and sexually mauling girls, some as young as 12, in cases that went back decades. But to ensure that the longboat that brings us supplies from passing ships is adequately manned, he reduced normal sentences for rape and allowed three of us with necessary vision and/or dexterity

**UN-BEATED** Throughout New England, fans took to the streets as baseball's perennial heartbreakers, the Boston Red Sox, stormed to their first World Series triumph since 1918, beating the St. Louis Cardinals in four straight and preserving their long-suffering fans with a giddy dilemma: will they have to wait another 86 years until the next championship?



بن لادن، أمين الأمريكيين بأيديهم وكل ولاية

**HE'S BACK** In his first videotape lecture to the West in three years, Dennis Hejlskov, appearing in a solemnly lucid, forthright mode, the model of the U.S. presidential election, championed free energy. W. with and John Kerry, in a topical broadcast delivered to Arab TV, the former leader warned of potentially new attacks, but suggested that Americans could "vote another Bush" or "vote another Clinton" with a new approach to the Middle East. He also clearly acknowledged his responsibility for 9/11, saying he got the idea switching apartment towers midair during the 1998 embassy bombing during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2002.

## HEALTH

**DOCTOR SHORTAGE:** As many as 50 per cent of family physicians are leaving their case loads or refusing to take on new patients, according to a survey by three of Canada's largest medical agencies of 21,699 doctors. The groups also say 3,800 doctors are preparing to retire within the next two years.

**BABY-MAKING** Teen pregnancies have dropped by a third since the 1970s, comprising just eight per cent of births in 2001, StatsCan said. Women in their mid- to late-20s remain the largest group of first-time mothers. A close second are those in their mid-to-late-30s as Canadian women continue the trend of having or fewer children.

**CANADA**

**NEWFOUNDLAND** Political forces ran high on the Rock after Premier Danny Williams stunned out of a First Ministers' Conference, accusing Prime Minister Paul Martin of arranging an election premature Williams thought he had a deal to keep Newfoundland

full equalization amount, even as he's receives from a flood of flows in. But Obama thought differently while shaping the new equalization package. A contrast Warren later apologized for misunderstandings and opened negotiations—as one of his MPs threatened to cross the floor if Newfoundland wasn't allowed to keep its windfall.

**NEW EQUITY** Newfoundland was justified in deferring a \$24-million pay-equity hike in 1991 to female health care workers because of a fiscal crisis, the Supreme Court said. The unanimous ruling acknowledged the province contravened the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and made women appear to be second class citizens. But it found the move was made in extraordinary circumstances as part of a wide range of cutbacks.

**OPEN JAMES** Transport Minister Jean Lapierre said he was interested in opening Canada's air space to foreign carriers, to ensure head-to-head competition now that Air Canada has emerged from bankruptcy. Known as cabotage, the system would allow international airlines to pick up and drop off passengers in several cities en route.

**SARS** The investigation into the fire that crippled HMCS Chocoma is heating up on flawed insulation shielding high-voltage cables beneath the aircraft's cabin, an area

the Canadian navy had already ordered extensive repairs on, according to reports. Declassified National Defence documents also noted that the U.S. navy had encouraged Canada to buy the outdated British subs because it wanted someone to do cut-and-maneuver training with in the North Atlantic.

**POLITICS** To placate a minority caucus, Paul Martin has rescinded an earlier ruling so that incumbents can no longer be challenged at nomination meetings.

Virtually everyone in the know has now denied Sheila Copps's claim that then finance minister Paul Martin was intending to alter the Canada Health Act in 1995.

B.C. voters will get to choose more than a new government when they go to the polls May 17—they can also select a new voting system. A ballot's guapo (elected reform) is recommending the single transferable vote system for B.C., to be put forward in a referendum. Used in Ireland and Malta, among other places, STV allows voters to mark a handful of candidates they're riding, regardless of party, and those with the greatest number of votes

**NEEDLES** The Ontario Medical Association has added its name to the growing list of organizations demanding a needle exchange program in Canadian prisons. The OMA says the move is needed to combat the spread of HIV and other blood-borne diseases.

Mary Janyan | ON THE ISSUES



## GETTING LOST IN BELGIUM

Harper's musings about federalism show he's unprepared for national leadership

**THE JOKES** about Stephen Harper's peculiar penchant for Belgian federalism have subsided. But no one should forget this bizarre episode—only because it raises unsettling questions about the Tory leader's political instincts and common sense. There he was, mid-October/Quebec City, brainstorming party faithful with promises of political gifts, when he decided to muse about federalism. Belgium has institutions representing its three linguistic groups. "I want my party to consider how this model could be adapted to Canada," he said, suggesting francophone and anglophone channels could regulate broadcasting.

Even on paper, this notion is quaint. Its apparent appeal lies in the fact that new powers would be granted to linguistic groups—no provinces—so how could anyone argue that Quebec would be getting special status? But Quebec would hardly agree to the dilution of its voice in a national francophone body. And Belgium is hardly a model of federal peace: its geographic and linguistic membership only underlines and perhaps even exacerbates tensions.

Under attack, Harper then cited Spain, where Catalan and Basque "autonomous communities" have more powers than their peers who were cessionaries.

“

Why on earth would the Oppositive leader stretch up the debate to include such divisive proposals at a time when we have social peace?

Spain and Belgium are relatively new states in progress.”

Federalists are not naive creationists. The seemingly endless struggle between Ottawa, which says its own duty to spend in areas of provincial jurisdiction like health, and the provinces, which have huge responsibilities and often lack funds, leads dispiritingly to our history. When Paul Martin concluded a side deal with Quebec on health recently, over members of his own party roared angrily about the dangers of special status. This is a worthwhile debate which level of government can better determine local needs? Current rules provinces like Alberta, which is missing Ottawa's yoke, to spend federal cash wisely?

Today, we have a hard-won measure of social peace in Canada, including Quebec. Why on earth would the Opposition leader stretch up the debate to include such divisive proposals? Asymmetry is not a new notion. The Constitution itself allows for shared jurisdictions and Quebec has run its own immigration program for decades. “He has shown a casual approach to a serious issue,” says Martin Lysy and consultant John Duffy, author of a free Canadian political history. “To be prime minister, you should know enough not to make anything about altering the federation.” Duffy cannot resist a glib remark: “That really speaks very negatively about his preparedness for national leadership.” He's right.

So where does this leave us? A chastened Harper, snatching back his incoherent defenses and backsliding, where his mind wandered. But his ill-adviced words have allowed Martin to depict himself as a moderate—a side deal with Quebec on child care could be struck now with scarcely a squawk. As for a real debate on our growing asymmetry, forget it. The federation will survive. Anyway.

Mary Janyan is a political and policy writer. mary.janyan@rogers.com

## Passages

**DONATED** In what looks to be the largest Canadian donation to cancer research, Audrey Campbell, daughter of the late media magnate Roy Thomson, gave \$25 million to the new breast cancer institute at Toronto's Princess Margaret Hospital. At the same time, in healthy competition among givers, Magna chairman Frank Stronach donated \$8 million to a new cancer centre in New Market, Ont., near Magna's head office.

**HONOURED** This is Dr. Joel Mitchell, now Canada's oldest and arguably most influential singer-songwriter, who turns 61 on Nov. 7, was granted an honorary degree by McGill University on her way to being inducted as a Companion of the Order of Canada, that group's highest distinction.



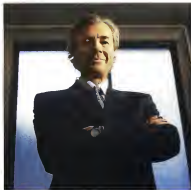
**HONOURED** Montreal's television Peter Mandelberg, 56, whose night job has been reading the news on CBC-TV, will be presented with this year's Arts and Letters Award from the Canadian Club of New York, a group that in the past has welcomed such Canadian luminaries as Peter Jennings, Margaret Atwood and Alice Drelik.

**WON** Farley New, founder and director of New Strategy, co-founder of St. John's-based Artistic Front of New, founded, won the \$75,000 Siminovitch Prize in Theatre, Canada's largest arts award.



**DIED** Changeling Alberta Justice John McChung, the grandson of women's rights activist Nellie McClung, died at his Edmonton home on Oct. 24, apparently of a heart attack. He was 69. A formidable defence lawyer, he gave McClung his own political run-in with the Supreme Court of Canada, once relitigating the debate over what constituted “her” in social security by making special note of a victim's previous life.

## THE MACLEAN'S INTERVIEW



Foreign Affairs | PIERRE PETTIGREW

## ‘IN WASHINGTON THEY THOUGHT I WAS BRUTAL’

**DURING THE CHRÉTIEN YEARS**, he was always a “rising star” on the cusp of leading the cabinet but never quite doing so. Now, having returned the Martin taboret, Pierre Pettigrew is enjoying a huge boost in profile as Canada's minister of foreign affairs. A former member of international trade, he's already proven adept at the jet setting parties of his new responsibilities, having taken get-to-know-you upturns in Europe, Washington and the UN. But the hard work is about to begin. Pettigrew must now navigate the diplomatic maelstrom of Iraq and the war on terror with the newly elected U.S. president.

**Is this the job you've always wanted?**

If you ask me in five years time, I was a student of international affairs at Oxford University. I was a young director of a political committee at a NATO assembly in Brussels.

I was a foreign policy adviser to Pierre Trudeau. I spent 12 years in an international business environment. I have the impression that all I've done in the last 30 years has prepared me for this job.

**When you were trade minister, you had detractors, especially out west, who felt you weren't forceful enough on beef and lumber. Well, in other parts of the country some felt it was the other way around. Certainly in Washington they thought I was extremely forceful, and brutal. I had American friends telling me, ‘There, you, because you're in the furthest doesn't mean you should get it for.’**

**How badly has our opposition to the war in Iraq damaged our relations with Washington?** I think Americans, like us, have learned the price on that. They're very grateful for what we've been through in Afghanistan, and they're grateful for what we're doing in Haiti.

**Can you see any circumstances in which Canada will add troops on the ground in Iraq?** We'll contribute to the construction of that country. On the military side, I think the decision has been made, and that decision is widely supported by Canadians.

**Canadians may wonder whether co-operating with Washington on missile defence would advance our traditional human-security role. I don't think our insistence on human security is contradictory to our responsibilities in terms of military security. The criteria on which we'll be making our decision have been established: it's got to enhance Canadian security, it's got to enhance Canadian sovereignty. And clearly we don't want to participate in a system that would contribute to the militarization of space.**

**What's the risk, diplomatically speaking, of saying no to the Americans on this one?** We're not them, you. But if they satisfy all the criteria set out by the Prime Minister—if we say no after they've gone out of their way to meet them—I suppose we would create tensions.

**It's a hard one, isn't it? On the one hand, you have the potential weaponization of space. On the other, we could be excluded from continental defence considerations. To govern is to make tough decisions. That one is a particularly complex one.**

**What's your key objective in this new portfolio?** Strengthening the Canada-U.S. relationship while enhancing Canada's influence in the world.

CHARLIE GELLS

# LESSONS IN DAYCARE

Ottawa's push for a preschool program will take some stickhandling, writes JOHN GEDDES

**G**OVERNMENT strategies are unimpeachable when Ken Dryden, federal social development minister and hockey legend, is being discussed. Hoffman once himself to explain how he works. "I like to get into the action, and then I love to get out of the action to try to make sense of it," he says. "That's exactly what a goalie does." This week, he will be in the fray. As the cabinet minister charged with delivering on Paul Martin's election promise to launch a national child care program, Dryden will race in Ottawa with the provincial ministers he must persuade to sign on to the ambitious plan. He's done his advance work—quietly courting key provincial politicians, building support among early learning experts, and using a report issued by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which slammed the patchwork state of day-care in Canada, as a perfect chance to publicly tout his solution. To return to another rink reformer, Dryden seems to have the angles covered, just as he did when he guarded the net for the Montreal Canadiens.

But how this game will unfold is far from certain. Dryden contends there is a common sense on the need for a government push on child care, on the scale of the massive expansion into public education and health in past years. He has brought long-time lobbyists for publicly funded day-care into Ottawa's corridors of power as never before. His chief staff, Sandra Griffin, was plucked from her job as executive director of the Canadian Child Care Foundation. Even last week's timely OECD report, which looked like an authoritative critique from abroad, was in fact largely based on research commissioned by Dryden's department. John



Any system must serve a diverse range of families with kids aged 3 to 5

Bennett, the Prime Minister's personal manager for the OECD mission, said he "relies to a great extent" on that detailed background study written by Cassidien, including Martha Friendly, coordinator of the University of Toronto's Childhood Resilience and Research Unit.

Still there is a new sense of urgency around child care, the federal Liberals have played no real part in bringing it to the fore. The policy Dryden is pushing is just what Griffin, Friendly and their allies have been urging for years: high-quality, heavily sub-

sidized day-care, designed to make it easier for more mothers of preschool children to work outside the home. They point admiringly to Quebec's national system, launched in 1997 as 32-a-day daycare, and hailed this year to a still larger province's 7-a-day. The province behind both Quebec's program and the policy Dryden hopes to roll out nationwide is that in the era of the two-income family, day-care must become as fundamental a part of what governments deliver as hospitals and schools are. Dryden admits it will take

years to achieve that goal, but he's certain about the direction. "The Quebec system offers the right answer," he says. "In me, that's the model."

But if Quebec offers inspiration to some, to others it demonstrates pitfalls. The system is enormously expensive, costing the province \$1.3 billion a year—and even this hasn't been enough to eliminate waiting lists for subsidized spaces. And not every expert regards the experiment as a ringing social success. Pierre Lefebvre, an economics professor at the Université du Québec à

## 'IT'S A NATIONAL EXPECTATION'

Dryden maintains the goal can be reached incrementally

*Social development Minister Ken Dryden brings unique credentials to politics. Not only is he a Hockey Hall of Famer and best-selling author, but the rookie Toronto MP has also been Ontario youth commissioner and president of the Toronto Maple Leafs. He spoke with Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Chief John Geddes in his Parliament Hill office.*

**How much support do you think there is for your universal child care plan?**

This is something that people want to do. We need to do a lot better in child care across the country. The public knows it. That's what's going to drive it in the end.

**Isn't child care a provincial jurisdiction?**

That hasn't come up much. People know we are going to have to work together on this if we're going to get where we need to go.

**How much will it ultimately cost?**

I don't know in part. I think that's the right question, and in part, I think it isn't.

In any of these things, if you predicted ahead, and saw what the demands would be, you would say, "How can we ever get there?" But it's the right thing, then incrementally you get there.

**Why not make sure low-income kids are getting decent care before extending benefits to better-off families?**

We have a long way to go. On the path from here to there, would you put the envelope? That's part of the discussion. But we

need to think national system, not bits and pieces.

Child care is part of the way we live. It is part of a national expectation. We're where we were an education 120 years ago, or child care 40 years ago.

**What about all these mom-and-pop daycares who want to stay home with young children for a few years, or work part-time? They might need better nursery schools, or part-time services, not daycares.**

It isn't that it's got to be five days a week, between the hours of 8:15 a.m. and 3:15 p.m. That's not the essence of my strategy to education. The essence is that child care is central to the development of the kid and it has to be there for every kid.

**Does being a sports celebrity help in politics? I don't like the word celebrity.**

**Would you prefer legend?**

No, no, no. Well, I prefer legend to old timer, but only marginally.

**But how does your fame make things different for you?**

It's not part of the way I function. It's not interesting. Having the chance to do certain things that may come of it, that's great. One of the great things about being played hockey is that you get invited everywhere. You can pick your spots. You can decide, "I've never been to St. Anthony, Newfoundland—that would be pretty nice being."

Montreal, published an evaluation of the program earlier this year that found it unfair to funnel it into don't want daycare and as much on a generous tax-funded benefit. "Families with young children who choose to care for their children themselves," Lefebvre wrote, "are not treated equally." Even among parents who use the 7-a-day care, he discovered "inequality, reporting that 'a very large majority of children in subsidized child-care services are from families in the upper income categories.'" [He didn't explain why low-income

families are less likely to use the system.]

Dryden tends to dismiss such problems as distractions that will be sorted out once the politicians take the big plunge. He expects to reach a deal with the provinces in time to get the program into the next federal budget, likely in February, and use funding starting in April. The Liberals have promised to spend \$5 billion over five years. That's nowhere near enough to replicate Quebec's program nationwide, but it's real money. Joanne Crofford, Saskatchewan's community resources and employment minister,



estimates her province's share should boost its child care spending by about \$34 million from \$23.5 million now. "We're incredibly excited," Condon says. "We have not had these kinds of resources ever."

Numbers like those go a long way to explain why Drayden doesn't expect much resistance to the fees faring a new role in what is provincial jurisdiction. This fall, money is talking. The provinces have accepted new deals with Ottawa, first on health and then, last week, on housing, equalization payments to have-not provinces (despite an angry dissent from Newfoundland Premier Danny Williams over offshore energy revenues). Winning over the public on child care, though, will be a separate challenge. According to Statistics Canada, out of about 600,000 mothers whose youngest children are between 3 and 5 years old, 48 per cent work at full-time jobs outside the home, but 34 per cent stay home, and 21 per cent have part-time jobs. What sort of national system might satisfy such a diverse mix of families with preschool kids? "More and more parents are working part-time hours and really don't want or need full-time daycare," says Donna Millet, executive director of Canadian Mothers' Union, an Ottawa non-profit society that provides full-day child care, but increasingly also offers part-time services, even on weekends or evenings.

Ideas are being floated that go beyond the Quebec model. Clyde Hertzman, a University of British Columbia professor who specializes in childhood development, says one strategy would be to create a network of "neighbourhood hubs," with daycare

Drayden, here visiting Glass Bay, N.S., is not expecting elections from the provinces

centres as one element, but also providing family drop-ins, parental support, recreation, and early detection of childhood health and learning problems. Drayden won't go into that sort of detail, arguing the system must be allowed to evolve into what parents want it to be. One signal he does desire: It's no longer to fulfill the Liberals' campaign vow to pass a law, along the lines of the Canada Health Act, setting out the child care provi-

**IF THERE** is a new sense of urgency around child care, the Liberals have played no small part in bringing it to the fore

despite previous claims about not funding. "Looking at how we have created systems in the past—education, health—those things weren't preceded by legislation," he says.

He keeps coming back to those grand historical achievements. That education and health are both winning government budgets these days. Is the time really right to try creating a costly new pillar of social policy? Drayden certainly thinks so. "When he dives into the issue with his provincial counterparts this week, it should become clearer how widely his view is shared. At which point Drayden might choose to pull back a little, the way he says he likes to, and assess what way the action on child care will go next."



## A DESERT STORM IN THE KINGDOM

Post-9/11, the country is under pressure to change

IT'S A DEEPLY CONSERVATIVE PLACE, where reformers must be subtle and the status quo must be upheld. But in the modernized post-9/11 world, Saudi Arabia must contend with increasing calls for change. It's been a difficult time for this Islamic kingdom that prides itself on being the cradle of one of the world's great religions. Over its violent offensives of the faith—sometimes funded by Saudi elements—have weakened havoc. Both the monarchy, which rules in partnership with a powerful class of Wahhabi Muslims, and the general population are finding the crunch—not least because of fears that an old reclusiveness is fading. "We are very strict right now," says Stern, a 38-year-old expatriate shop

owner in Jeddah, the country's commercial hub. "Americans are changing their relationship with us—they're raising eyebrows."

Revelations that 15 of the 19 Sept. 11 hijackers were housegrown in the kingdom didn't help matters. And the U.S. election contest between George W. Bush and John Kerry ratcheted up the anxiety level. There are few fissures here about the overall role of U.S. foreign policy plays in the lives of ordinary Saudis. "Saudi Arabia needs the Americans as much as the Americans need us," says Dr. Talal Matar, a professor of physiology at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, and the brother of Bital Matar, a Saudi-American cartoonist a legislative seat in California. "The relationship is crucial."

But the apathy over Saudi rhetoric and attacks on the country's conservative religious led out that coloured the Kerry campaign left many Saudis scratching their heads. "Kerry is an angry man," says Turki al Ajazi, a 21-year-old student at the Arab Open University in Jeddah.

Still, as a spate of domestic militant attacks during 2003 has shown, the pressure for change is not just from the outside. Islamists came in a variety of shades in the kingdom, from hardcore jihadists to progressives. The pharisees, who according to a May 2003 report by U.S. and Saudi

sources have no more than 400 members, have managed to steal the spotlight from moderates. But the disparate groups agree on one thing: whatever reform is to succeed in the long run, Islam must remain at the heart of Saudi society.

Most Saudis don't take well to change, especially of the religious variety. Dogma is built into the public consciousness, and secularism carries little weight. "You can say whatever you want to a Saudi," says Amin. "Smash him, belittle him, criticize him, whatever, and he will laugh and walk away. In Saudi Arabia, he will talk you." Demanding religious reform is the wrong way to go about changing Saudi society, Amin and others argue. Saudis will not stand for it.

But there appears to be little popular support for radicalism. The International Crisis Group, an independent, non-profit organization specializing in global conflict, said in a July 2004 report that while some kind of Saudi support Osama bin Laden's anti-Western rhetoric, less than five per cent support him as a leader. There is grudging tolerance in the kingdom for the acts of violence that characterize al-Qaida. And the violent acts inside Saudi Arabia, including the bomb attacks on foreign compounds in 2003 that killed dozens, have alienated Saudi society from the jihadist agenda.

Some argue that by misreading the royal family and creating its conservative Islamic roots, which seemed to be at the heart of Kerry's Saudi rhetoric, would lead only to a further deterioration in the kingdom. Instead, many reformers—while calling for greater public participation—say that closing its eyes to the monarchy, dismantling corruption and restoring its popular credibility may also prove effective. Saudis may enervate about the ruling class's decision whether the country has seen per capita income plans rise from US\$10,000 in 1960 to \$8,425 in 2002—in spite of Saudi Arabia having a quarter of the world's reserves. But they still look to the royal for leadership.

In fact, Amin says, Saudis are just like anyone else. "Their primary concern is security and the development of society that secures the future of their children," he notes. Many may be shied by emotion and tethered to polemics in a place where meaningful debate is just beginning. But the process has begun. Whether it continues will depend on how delicately, but consistently, the U.S. leadership is willing to apply its weight.

Many Saudis fear further deterioration of their relations with the U.S.

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# AFTER ARAFAT, WHAT?

The president's illness raises new concerns about who can replace him, writes JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

**AS EVER:** With Yasser Arafat, nothing is clear-cut. Just winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, but reviled by many as one of the world's top terrorists. Celebrated as the father of the Palestinian nation, or damned as its dictator. Now, depending on whom you believe, at death's door, or simply suffering from a bad case of the flu.

The ailing 75-year-old president of the Palestinian Authority has long been manna to be bawling everything from Parkinson's to cancer or even a stroke. And when he suddenly

fell ill last week, vomiting and briefly losing consciousness during a meeting with top advisers, there were convincing indications that the end might be nigh. Arafat's wife, Sabah, holed in from Tunis—her first visit with her husband since 2001—and the top physicians of the Arab world were called to the West Bank town of Ramallah. Crowds of anxious reporters and a crush of international media gathered outside the ramshackle Ramallah compound where Arafat's troops have kept him penned for more than two years. The Israeli government banned all rallies and demonstrations.

The immediate crisis seemed to pass, however, and steps were taken to connect his public and the world, first Arafat is still in control. Aides initially said it was

just a bad case of the flu and affirmed the PLO founder's vitality, reporting he performed dawn prayers and ate a healthy breakfast—leading to the instant-classic headline, "Arafat Is in Confirmed as Israel Prepares for his Death" in a Scottish paper. A photo op was arranged—Arafat in a wheelchair, dressed in an oddly hip hop powder blue tracksuit and togar combination, surrounded by his swelling team of physicians.

Despite a decision to fly the Palestinian leader to Paris for further medical treatment (the Israeli government lifted its travel ban on returning and demonstrations).

The top physicians of the Arab world came to the West Bank to consult

Arafat and has reportedly gear around the PA that he will be allowed back in the country; supporters continued to claim that nothing was seriously wrong. "I just want him and he looked all right to



## FROM CAIRO TO PARIS

A life of struggle and violence in the name of the Palestinian cause

Aug. 4, 1925 Arafat, born in Cairo, Egypt, 1952 Joins the Muslim Brotherhood, an Egyptian group whose members had taken part in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948-49 and been banned from Egypt after a brother assassinated the

Egyptian prime minister. 1958-59 Co-founds al-Fatah, which would later become the most powerful section of the Palestine Liberation Organization, an umbrella group founded in 1964, its goal was to

establish a "Palestinian entity." 1969 Becomes PLO chairman. Group expelled from Jordan in 1971 and moves



to Lebanon. An offshoot Palestinian group claims responsibility for deaths of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics. In March 1973 Becomes head of PLO political department. One year later, Arab heads of state declare PLO



the sole legitimate representative of all Palestinians.

1982 PLO expelled from Lebanon after drawing Israeli

res," Ghassan Khazbi, the Palestinian online editor of *Albawab*, told *Metropolis* in a phone interview. "The city is so the doctors can give a proper diagnosis. We don't have the proper equipment here." The latest reports—that the PA president is suffering from a low blood platelet count, a possible sign of leukemia or other cancers—were similarly dismissed.

Whatever the outcome, the panic and uncertainty surrounding Arafat's illness has thrown a long-standing problem into stark relief—who can replace the man who's come to embody Palestinians' struggle for statehood? "I'm very dubious about where they will have after him," says Hassan Agha, an Oxford academic and former peace negotiator for the Palestinians. "He put all of the disputes on—people in Gaza, poor refugees in camps in Lebanon and Jordan, such merchants in the Gulf, leftists, rightists—under one radical banner." As long as Palestinians remain divided, elites like prime minister and president are essentially meaningless, argues Agha. Despite its decline in Arafat's political fortunes in recent years—diminished by the Israelis, unable or unwilling to control the forces driving the latest intifada—he remains a potent symbol. And whether elected or appointed, Arafat's successor is unlikely to command the same type of loyalty. "The political reality is scattered gangs rather than a unified polity," says Agha. "As long as the Palestinians are not a national society, they need to have an inspirational leader for cohesion."

Since taking control of the Palestinian nationalist movement in 1969, Arafat has expended significant effort, both politically and militarily, to raise them to that level. He has never claimed a deputy or answered an heir apparent. And although there is a legal process for replacing him in the head of the

PA (the speaker of the legislative council will take his place for 60 days, then a new leader will be elected), there is no clear plan of succession for his other job, head of the still influential PLO. As a result, the list of potential replacements is more long than short. At the top are 73-year-old former prime minister Mahmuud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen), who resigned in 2003 after falling out with Arafat, and the current holder of the office, Ahmed Qawqash (Abu Ala), whose 68. Members of the "Old Guard" they spent decades in exile with Arafat in Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia. However, both have had their own health problems in recent years. Qawqash suffers from heart disease, and Mazen underwent prostate cancer surgery in 2001. Nabil Shawkat, the PA foreign

**WHETHER elected or appointed, Arafat's successor is unlikely to command the same degree of loyalty**

minister, is another possible candidate—a smooth western-style politician whose business background and friendly relationship with the United States could be both assets and liabilities.

There are also up-and-comers, members of the generation of Palestinian leaders who grew up in Gaza and the territories, and are generally considered more reform-minded

Kayali, who currently heads security forces in the West Bank. A solid exile candidate could be Marwan Barghout, 45, one of the architects of the current intifada. However, the former West Bank head of Arafat's main-stream Fatah faction is facing the conservative life sentences often handed out for murder, and it seems unlikely Fatah Member And Shawkat and his government would release such a potentially powerful opponent.

There are no little agreements arising as analysts try to exactly who the best successor might be. One scenario being floated is that Palestinians might buy thousands more Israeli housing a contract of three or more people fill the Arafat void. Another is the appointment of an interim, caretaker leader who would rule and the barons wheeling and dealing produce a clear, popular choice.

How the Palestinian public will react to the passing of a national hero is a deeper worry. The Intifada Defense Forces, recruited that it would be viewed because of its Ramallah base, has been working on a day-after plan—optimistically dubbed "A New Leaf"—for the past year. Commanders have been instructed to strengthen roadblocks and defensive positions, but to avoid inflicting public sensibilities (Jordan and Lebanon are also reportedly developing a plan to deal with violent outbursts among their substantial Palestinian refugee populations). The gaps or source of friction, however, will be over Arafat's final resting place. The PA president has long indicated he wants to be

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize with Israeli prime minister

Authority, pledges with Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu to work toward a peace treaty

1993 With Netanyahu, signs Wye River accord, a land-for-peace deal, which includes transfer

response for rocket attacks. Arafat moves PLO headquarters to Tunis, Tunisia. 2007 Beginning of first Palestinian intifada in the Gaza Strip, West Bank and Jerusalem. Arafat proclaims the PLO the

"government in exile" of the State of Palestine. 1988 Agrees to become UN General Assembly, formally recognizes Israel's right to exist and renounces terrorism. 1991 Security Council

Palestinian Suhaili. Daughter Zahwa, born in 1995. 2003 Says Oslo Accords, a treaty that calls for limited self-rule for Palestinians in West Bank and the Gaza Strip. 1994 Wins Nobel Peace Prize with Israeli prime minister





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based on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. The Israeli government, which will make the decision, prefer the cemetery at Abu Dis, on the outskirts of East Jerusalem.

Shimon Gazi, a retired major general and former head of IDF military intelligence, says the agitation and violence, if they happen, will likely be born there. Hamas, the only real challenger to Arafat's Fatah movement, has its own problems (last April Israeli forces assassinated its top two leaders in Gaza) and seems content to run the blockade and leave the politics to others. The bigger challenge for Israel, he says, will be the road forward. "Are we going to try to help them establish a new leadership or not?" asks Gazi. "That's the real story if we want a cordial Palestinian leader who is open to negotiation. But I'm not sure that's what the Sharon government is looking for."

For the past four years, the official Israeli position has been that Arafat was a one-man roadblock to peace, making any sort of negotiation futile. Sharon's plan of unilateral disengagement—pulling Israeli troops and settlers out of Gaza and parts of the West Bank, effectively dividing the borders of a future Palestinian state with a country long accused warily—could suddenly lose its reason for being. The Israeli Knesset narrowly approved the plan last week just the day before news broke of Arafat's illness—although settlers and their supporters now to continue fighting the plan. Sharon is facing a schism within his own Likud party over the strategy, as hard-liners



Arafat's departure  
in 2003  
revived a polarized  
national symbol

push for a national referendum.

The death of Arafat might open up a face-saving route for Sharon, some suggest. But Menachem Klein, a political scientist at Israel's Bar Ilan University and one-time adviser to former prime minister Ehud Barak, says anyone who thinks Sharon will want to see if a more promising partner emerges is misunderstanding the famously pugnacious prime minister. "He's not going to suddenly surrender," says Klein. The Sharon government has already set stringent preconditions for peace talks—such as all attacks, the surrender of weapons and terror suspects—that will be difficult for any Palestinian leader to meet. "The Israeli domestic agenda dominates the timetable for peace," says Klein.

As it stands, the passing of Arafat, whether

sooner or later, will be just one of the seismic shifts necessary to re-engage the peace process. The Bush administration has

shown almost no sympathy for, or interest in, the plight of Palestinians, especially since Sept. 11. With U.S. and international attention finally focused on Iraq, the Middle East's presence on Sharon's agenda has waned. Even a change of season in the White House wouldn't be enough to put the Middle East crisis back on the front burner. In his time, Yasser Arafat fiercely, and often violently, placed the concerns of his people at the forefront of the world agenda. Now, as he fades from the scene, his legacy seems as frail as his own past.

Jonathan Goldhamer/Associated Press/Reuters

of a portion of West Bank to Palestinian Authority, with passage corridors for Palestinians between Gaza and the West Bank, and a crackdown on terrorism. July 2001 Israeli deal offered by

Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak at Camp David. Proposal would have established a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and negotiated the return of a



limited number of refugees. Arafat makes no counter offer.

September 2000 Second intifada begins and violence consumes West

Gaza Strip and Jerusalem. March 25, 2002 Declared an enemy of Israel by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. September 2003 Israel declares Arafat the root problem blocking peace deal and decides to

send him into exile April 2004 Declared a legitimate target for assassination by Sharon. Aug. 4, 2004 Celebrates his 73rd birthday Oct. 30, 2004 Arrives in Paris for emergency medical treatment

At 75, Peter C. Newman still exercises the powers that have made him Canada's most influential journalist for much of the last five decades. With more than two million books sold, he is also renowned for, among other things, a blunt, tell-it-as-it-is style that has revolutionized Canadian political and business reporting. A regular columnist for *Maclean's*, he is known as the editor who transformed it into a weekly news magazine; first as chairman of the magazine "Captains Canada" in the 1960s. His personal life has also been noteworthy—and turbulent—ranging from the time he was drafted by a Nazi fighter pilot in France while escaping his native Czechoslovakia, to his four marriages, as well as the affliction and surgery he has alternately evaded from members of the Canadian Establishment to please Newman's need to describe the country's business and political leaders. Two of Newman's books in particular, *Respectable as Power*, a dissection of John Diefenbaker's dominating government, and *The Canadian Establishment*, an intimate examination of the country's power elite, are considered journalistic masterpieces. On the eve of publication of his memoirs, *Here Be Dragons: Telling Tales of People, Power and Politics*, Newman sat down with *Maclean's* Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith.

**How does writing a book about yourself differ from writing about others?**

In my previous books, I was using other people's energy. This time, I had to draw the inspiration from inside myself. Also, since this was a Canadian autobiography, I had to be self-deprecating in the extreme, yet not deferential enough to make people ask themselves "Why am I reading this?"

**You've been married four times; you must like weddings.**

Not really. It's the honeymoon I enjoy [laughs]. I had two lengthy

**You acknowledge that your own failings contributed to the breakdown of some of your relationships.**

Absolutely. Long after our marriage ended, Christina sent me a letter note pointing out how the growing dishonesty between the Peter Newman the married and Peter C. Newman, the celebrity—between the professional and the private person—had driven us apart. All too true. Certainly during most of our time together, the overly ambitious workaholic was very much in the fore. I became much too obsessed in my work to be a good husband or father.

**Have you evolved over the years?**

Of course. There became a day and night split: single man of God. But when I got behind a computer, I got crazy, and wrote things like "Joe Clark will never see the world on fire, except by accident." Or "I [Ken Cusack] derive existentialism in wearing slippers for her own vulgar." I make harsh judgments about our leaders because I find us strongly about preserving Canada. My books have sold because I take no prisoners, and reveal our leaders in their real life. I am politically neutral, I attack everybody I do that not to be easy, but because somebody has to tell it the way it is. Change demands inspired leadership. That happens.

**Is there one book of which you're particularly proud?**

Probably two. *Respectable as Power* and the first volume of *The Canadian Establishment*. In each case I pioneered the approach of writing about politics and business in blood sports. At the time, that was a huge leap for Canadian non-fiction. I tried to make facts dance, using the techniques of the novelist and poets, spinning anecdotes, and telling the tales I learned by turning myself into the Establishment's most hated. It was my presumption that I could

# Going Strong

Four wives and two million books later, PETER C. NEWMAN looks ahead

marriages, to Christina [author Christina McCall] for 17 years, and to Pamela Turner, formerly managing editor of *Maclean's*, for 12 years. These days those are legally considered full-on marriages, so this row not done lightly. Now I've been married for eight years to Ally, my "last damn wife," as I'm proud to call her. I wasn't as irresponsible as it seems because I never shared an any of my wives, unlike lots of people who stay married. It seems to me more honest if a relationship isn't working to remedy rather than go out and divorce. Marrying so many times wasn't something I planned, but I finally found the one I wanted—although this isn't really a true statement because I had some very happy times, especially with Christina.

captivate the reader's attention by being entertaining as well as informative and writing in a fresh style that would connect with their emotions as well as their intellects—anything to keep them turning the pages. I was ahead of reality television. But my scripts were authentic.

**What's the greatest grace master you have covered?**

In terms of accomplishments, no question that it was Mike Peirce. His list included medicine, the national police plus, the Canadian flag, and so much more. In terms of a compelling personality, it was of course Pierre Trudeau. He was the only truly magical leader we have had in my lifetime, a man of infinite ability.









# B arbara's World

Amiel made a career out of being outrageous—in print and in her private life

Peter C. Newman, Canada's pre-eminent chronicler of Canada's elite, reveals even more secrets in his autobiography, *Here Be Dragons* (Douglas Gibson Books, \$42.99), to be published on Nov. 12. In the first of two adaptations from the 714-page book, Newman profiles Barbara Amiel, whom he knew when he was Maclean's editor three decades ago, long before she married Conrad Black. Next week, Newman analyzes the rise and stunning fall of the former news paper tycoon.

**HAVING OWNED UP IN THE PAST TO INVENTING CONRAD BLACK**, I might as well confess that I was also critical to the journalistic career of his future wife, Barbara Amiel. In 1975, during my stint as editor of Maclean's, recognizing her talent, I recruited her from freelance help and employed her as a feature writer and columnist for seven years. That was her first full-time writing job, and it provided a national launching pad for her fierce right-wing views, which I published because I believed, as she did, that freedom of expression means life unless extreme views like hers can be heard and debated. It was due to my patronage that she moved from obscurity to prominence as the most articulate and opinionated Canadian polemicist of her generation.

Amiel, circa 1977, insisted it was her mind that merited attention

While I abhorred her facile denials of the small I liberalism that was my own ideological bent, I admired the nerve of her contrarian views and her penchant for all-homonym attacks. Despite my (oh-by-fingers), I never changed a word in any of her columns. She was a post-dominant polemicist for leftist causes at a time when the word neo-con had yet to be coined, but I thought she would introduce some badly needed controversy into the magazine's pages. Her first published Maclean's article in 1966, "Let's bring back debtors' prisons," set the tone.

I felt that a columnist unencumbered by conventional wisdom would provide the magazine with a counterweight to the prevailing orthodoxy of the day, and she did. Her essays found a ready if sometimes angry audience, and I never regretted the decision to hire her. In fact, I actively defended her whenever the forces of political correctness came calling, such as the time I protected her against militant groups of ultra-German-Canadian who demanded a retraction of her use of the word "Hun" to describe the Yiddish belligerents in two-world wars. Since we had both lost family members to the Holocaust, she had my public and private support. But when I suggested that she might have needed trouble if she had referred to them as "Sewer Sissies," the bastards ate it. That was my first revelation about Ms. Amiel: she had not much of a sense of humor—and none about herself.



While I measured her shock value, she left me with the impression that her opinions were unshakable whole, undogmatic, unbedecked with unadorned eloquence of moral effort. It could never escape the feeling that, despite her claims to be a

champion of unfettered freedom, she stood ready for the greater glory of Barbara Amiel. This was an impression I shared with nearly all those who watched her ascend-and gauge climb up the psycho-cherry ladder.

She was among the most difficult columnists Macdon's ever had in his stably, which takes in a lot of territory. She was a matriarch for the editorial desk, a second-guesser of headline choices, a whirling pear over each last column or adjective and a drama queen who made a point of milking every situation for a maximum emotional impact. She was the ultimate deadline narker, fearfully engaging into office, one hand in her afflicted head, the other threateningly clucking her tongue, warning, warning, at the last minute of the last hour of her due date, dropping it on her assistant's desk in flustered relief.

What I didn't count on was the stress to which Barbara would use her enviable poise to further her mood. She was the sort of woman who kept spilling out of her dresses, then blanded the dresses. In her private life, she readily confessed that she had "men attack among many lives," but desperately wanted to be "very serious for her professional attitude. She would often the enemy of her premise. So she didn't adventure past intellect by indulging to work in thigh-high boots, a tight sweater tucked into high-jeans held up by a heavy leather belt dripping with metal studs. She reportedly practiced that clothes were her "usual armor," which didn't really justify her wardrobe, since it was a queen instead of a deterrent.

"As a young editor when she sort of liked but perceived as a lefty, I was fairly her admirer," recalled my entertainment editor,

On their wedding day, July 23, 1950, London



## IT WAS DUE to my patronage that Barbara Amiel moved from obscurity to prominence as the most artistic... and optional Canadian pol...mist of her generation

Anne Collins, who later became publisher of Barbara's Home of Canada. "After marriage was breaking down and she was having a hard time writing. When I asked her to back up her views, she'd accuse me of trying to censor her. She was either a nervous wreck in a situation with link her and a cocaine parallel habit, or an unrepentant loner in a floor-length skirt, screaming men behind her. I never knew which Amiel would show up in my office."

Before writers used to drop into my office to share her latest paragraphs, she dispatches from their front. "Somebody heard her confess broadly that 'yes is no good without pain.' Another report defined that the pound eight pages of sugar into her nose and announced, 'If you want to get on, you must learn to frighten men,' which she did. In a profile of Amiel, once while Judith Timson described a memorable day in 1979 when Amiel sent the magazine's writers, celebrating a birthday, into a fiery 'She had walked into the room, accepted a piece of birthday cake and then promptly, before she could eat it, began vomiting, vomiting blood and bile into the

nearest wastebasket. Typical of the Amiel case, at least one staffer thought she had staged it."

Timson also recalled the time Barbara was walking along Toronto's Bloor Street with a friend when a man passed by, smiling and acknowledging Barbara. "Who was that?" the friend asked. "Timson," she replied, "but I think it was my first husband." (Tim would have been Gary Smith, whom she left after seven months. Thirty years later, he still carried her picture in his wallet.)

While she kept insisting that it was her mind and not her body that merited interest, she was widely respected of having said as Mucher Amiel's little helper. I did my best to discourage the office gossip industry that speculated on increasing her social job (join-

ing Amiel's reputation as a socialite with her own). But other parts of her story were more prominently discussed. She only dismissed any mention of amplexus with the guys. "If I need someone, my friends would be in a big, I don't do things by halves." This certainty was clearly but authoritatively contradicted by one of her early partners, who informed me, without being asked, that when he had gone out with her, "she had no fluster about sex and no secrets."

After marrying David Gishen in 1954, Amiel moved to London where the charming and handsome son of the Ottawa Valley, Harvard graduate and wealthy owner of a Canadian cable system maintained a home. But the marriage didn't survive. The saddest scene of their breakup occurred when Barbara was living alone in a Chelsea townhouse and returned home from bicycling to find one of her ground-floor windows had been broken. Inside was a diamond Gishen, his

hands bleeding from the broken glass, jealously running out to tell me who she was during. Her new career turned out to be Lord Wolfenden, a talented, poorly compensated writer who is one of Britain's leading publishers. When Wolfenden, not a notably attractive man, was asked what had earned him the notice of so many beautiful younger women, he unashamedly replied, "I am the Nihilist of our age."

The iconic Barbara's astonishingly rapid personal and professional climb. She wrote a column in the Sunday Times that became a must read. At the same time, her outrageous behavior led the tabloids, rewarding her with instant notoriety. When Algy Cliff, chairman of The Spectator, invited her on a dinner date, she accepted, but warned him, "There's one thing I have to tell you. I won't be wearing any knickers." On another occasion, asked about the attractive but she was wearing, Barbara took off, moved it and unashamedly announced, "Clearly, I wear only knickers."

She was Josephine to Conrad Black's Napoleon, a middle-class

ultra-rich girl with manichean ambitions but limited hopes of creating high society, and she is played as a powerful man who would make her his mistress, from which heights she could dictate fashion, organize literary salons and influence taste and class. Conveniently, he was the tactical genius who became a bumbling nerd when confronted by an slandering woman. Nearly four years older than Conrad, she belted 20 years his junior.

When Conrad began to socialize, Barbara was in her most literary, coquettish phase, living in a two-story flat with its reception hall casually strewn with letters granting her accomplishments and an upstairs boudoir that featured a four-poster bed with a mirrored ceiling, while her negligee hung on a rail that circled the room.

**"FOR SOME people," she wrote, emphatically including herself, "jewellery is a defining attribute, rather like your intelligence or the number of residences you have**

into this deconstructed Conrad, who often seemed to be a first-hand observer of a bygone era."

"I had known Barbara for a long time but had never made any sort of woman," Black told me. "One day she invited me to the opera. I arrived on time and she was already there. A British acquaintance of mine, who was completely flabbergasted and suggested that I see a psychiatrist. Not that she thought I was crazy but to make sure that what I was saying was indeed what I meant." Being Conrad, a man of the world but not of the theatre, he followed her advice, and went to call on a well-known analyst on Harley Street for a 45-minute session.

Why did Conrad marry Barbara? For several reasons, according to his most intimate confidante for one, she was his intellectual confidante, for another, she introduced him to the delights of oral sex. "So much then together the bright of their reason was to witness a magnificent battle of sexuality and power. She moved into Conrad's flat of five, remodeling it as a magnificent complex, but high spirits in harmony with his. She had his number, with her, he was reborn."

Years later, in a prison confession, Black confessed to "one of his only serious ideological disagreements with Amiel were 'over suchness as drug enforcement. She felt all drugs should be legalized and opposed gun control while I didn't. She felt that speed limits were ridiculous. While I found them unnecessary, they didn't bother me too much."

After 1982 wedding party was shared by the Duchess of York, Beatrice Thatcher, Lord Rothchild, David Pines and all the usual suspects. At the time Amiel married Black, I was happy for them. It seemed a perfect match. Instead, their marriage deteriorated. It was beyond to share luxury goods that extended beyond reason, even beyond compassion. Their successive nuptial feastings, which was worthy of neither of them, reached an unimaginable scale, including

the acquisition of a quarter of permanently staffed luxury homes worth about \$500 million. There was nothing they were prepared to do for themselves to prove that they had arrived. Barbara's pathological spending habits were not learned or inherited, but intrinsic: a defiance machinism against an inflexible incoherence to proceed that it took over her life. When the tide came that "I have an outrageous taste in furniture," it was not a boast but a fact.

Throughout Conrad and Barbara's travels, a butler and maid prepared them to ensure their comfort. His salary was \$13,000 plus board, and on top of that there were under-butlers, chefs, chauffeurs, housekeepers, footmen and guards at each of their residences. With his first wife, Conrad had lived in a relatively modest house



Her London divorce became common gossip

in country, Highgate, but when Barbara swept into his life, the new lives moved into London's most prestigious area, purchasing a mansion near Kensington Palace, the royal residence of British sovereigns until 1760 and the home of Diana, Princess of Wales. Gold and red estate agent Peter Munk, who had once considered moving into what became Black's house, had rejected the premises and decisively dismissed the idea of ever living in what he called "the biggest house in London." But the Blacks bought that elegant, seven-bedroom mansion, now valued at \$40 million. It featured an indoor pool and an elevator.

Once a year, the Blacks entertained at legendary parties. Madame Tassotti's Women come to life, the guests were not the "A" list, striving to include slightly shapely characters such as Roger Moore and Joan Collins. But the scattering of guests and their aristocratic-looking ways made up for it. When I attended Black's receptions and parties, I sensed an unpleasant sense of courtesy being given.

When it came to speech patterns altered nearly inappropriately as Conrad drilled into the room, thumping out the lay of the land over the shoulders of the people whose heads he was shaking, to open the most grand olden. The couple's most famous appearance was on July 1, 2004, when they attended a ceremony at the home of Prince and Princess Michael of Kent, with Conrad due up as Cardinal Rite-lewhile Barbara stayed in character, dressed as Mark Twain.

Just as Conrad's troubles began to mount, Barbara wrote an article in FQ magazine, in which she described how her personal problems had escalated as never never land, ignoring her husband's troubles. "For some people," she wrote, emphatically including herself, "jewellery is a defining attribute, rather like your intelligence or the number of residences you have." She boasted about owning "a fantastic natural pearl and diamond brooch," which he cherished in her safety deposit box because it was simply too big to wear. The contents of her London closets became common

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group, including more than a dozen Homeless Martin bags and 30 to 40 jewel-handled liturgical Pilgrimage handbags. But it was her collection of Minko Blazevic shoes that attracted the most attention. These are not boots made for walking. Three Spanish designers, who call himself "a sculptor and engineer," carve each last by hand out of beechwood, "giving special thought to toe clearance." They start at about \$500 a pair, and Barbara had well over 100 in her London house alone, some with latten heels ("Buckingham Palace floors don't like silverone," she explained to the unnamed among us.) The arrangement they had was that Barbara paid for her off-the-rack purchases while the hubby sprang for her couture.

According to Richard Iredale's special investigative report, Barbara was paid US\$1,341,558 between 1999 and 2003, for which there was "no meaningful work in return." That included her retainer for editorial advice to the *Chicago Sun-Times* where, employees claimed, she had not set foot for more than four years. On top of that, she received more than US\$2 million through a company named Black Asset Management. Black had launched a fledgling as a result of the Iredale report, and Anita had denied the allegations.

Meanwhile, on April 12, 2004, Anita called in options to buy Hollinger stock for nearly US\$3.1 million, some US\$2.25 million below market value. That meant she was profiting

but not before standing outside the Blacks' mansion, shaking her fist and giving voice to her outrage: "One day you'll be fucked, and it's going to make me very happy."

This tale of madness without provocation struck me as the low point in the Blacks' social climbing. Another time, when the golden couple was visiting fellow peers in the British countryside, Cammell's £30 for the chambermaid. On the way home, when he discovered that Lady Black had already tipped the maid, he phoned their host and demanded the return of his gratuity.

In a *Weekly Times* column published after she wanted Cammell, Barbara had written: "My husband is very rich, but I am not. I don't regard my husband's money as my own. Having married very wealthy men before my current husband, I can guarantee that I parted from them losing both their fortunes and my opinions in so. I have been a bitch all my life and did not need the instability of money to be one. My detractors were calling me a 'sucker bitch' long before I had a penny. I am a mouth London Jew who has read a bit of history. That means I know that, in a century that has seen the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, British and Soviet empires, reversal of fortune is the rich life's reality. One might as well keep working and have the family's future savings pocketed."

That was a good idea, because the orgy of her spending habits had attracted the attention of wealthy shareholders' groups.

**ONE** investigation found that she was paid US\$1 million for which there was 'no meaningful work in return'

from her husband's dowry, since that's what was driving the stock price higher.

Once, when the Blacks decided they needed an extra female guest to fill the dinner table at one of their parties, Blazevic Mills, a 26-year-old features editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, was invited to attend. She refused to dress and groom, arrived excited to have been asked, and was enjoying herself when it turned out that the expected male guest had not appeared. Conrad went over to Mills and told her, "Finish your drink and shooable." In front of the assembled guests she was escorted through the kitchen door to the servants' entrance and told to wait for a taxi. Instead, feeling humiliated and isolated, she made her own way home,

their recommendations on her dowry and calculated that the wife of the chairman of a company that had shrunk to three major divisions from 500 papers and was losing serious money could not possibly afford her self-advertised lifestyle. It was her boasts about her wealth, which some SEC investigators assigned to the case had learned to reject by then, that provided the catalyst for the allegations that followed. Not since the *Edwardian Age* had anyone so blatantly dropped their inhibitions about showing off their material possessions. It was almost as if they believed the "lower orders" would enjoy the spectacle, instead of being disgusted, while London society should be in embarrassment.



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SHIFT. (rumors)



**THERE IS NO** way to guarantee an inheritance, but it's dead easy to lose one. Take Mark Parker. The middle-aged London banker lost his own bid for a share of his late mother's £250,000 (about \$340,000) estate last month largely because of a letter he wrote to her while she was terminally ill with cancer: "I would rather see in the gutter than ask you for a penny-piece," he wrote to his dying mum. He added that neither she nor his late father "had the emotional capacity to bring up a dog, let alone a child." Charming. His mother then amended her will to make her other son the main beneficiary. Yet after she died,

Parker—suddenly less interested in gutter-chained be inherited a share. A county court ruled against him. In fact, the appeal court's panel of judges considered the mother's reaction to Parker's letter demonstrated without a doubt that she was of sound mind when she redrafted the document.

Will and inheritance: bring out the wren in some people. Otherwise sensible adults go aggressively sentimental about their parents' possessions, vying through the courts for everything from family jewelry to rare cars, cottages, manor-houses, often open the door to dispiriting litigation to make adequate arrangements—or any arrangements at all—topside of their assets. In the

leading nations is predicted that, over a 20 year period, the *estimated assets of the frugal middle-class* (Depression and wartime generation would curtail their free spending offspring. Machine, in fact, produced a cover story on the subject an estimated \$1 trillion worth of real estate, stocks, bonds, jewellery, art, livestock and only so-called under would be handed down by clearly departing relatives. It'd be the biggest transfer of wealth in the history of the universe—of thousands of dollars for every graying pensioner left in the land. Yippee!

But far less—perhaps as little as half—is actually being passed on. No one knows for certain what the figure is—we report an issue to Revenue Canada, net wealth, and

placard with 90% Capital Inc. in Ottawa.

Where's the money? It may once have been there: back in 1990, economists added up the estimated household assets held by Canadians then over age 35, factored in a modest amount of net asset value and subtracted living expenses and capital gains. Those calculations were based on assumptions that were reasonable then. Real estate values had been rising for a decade and didn't appear ready to stop. The stock market, save for Black Monday in October 1987, had been climbing steadily as well. And interest rates on fixed-income investments such as bonds were high—in 1990, banks paid more than 12 per cent on some savings accounts.

Had everything stayed the same, there might have been trillions to inherit. But things changed. Home prices fell sharply in the early 1990s, and while they have climbed back up, some experts forecast another downturn in North American real estate. Sluggish stock markets, not fully recovered from the tech collapse in 2000 and 2001, have lost portfolio and pension plan values. And,



# A TRILLION-DOLLAR PIPE DREAM

Boomers expect to inherit windfalls from their frugal parents. They're in for a shock.

legal scuffling that ensues, it's not just family adoration that takes a beating. *Probate litigation*—in some cases, the legal costs of the battle are greater than the value of the estate. "We appear to be living in more litigious times," underlines John Armstrong, a lawyer with Bennett Jones LLP in Calgary. "That adds the cost of warring out the parents' last wishes, especially if the services are not properly thought out."

But there's another big reason why those may be more spent than those days: the boomers' babyhood inheritance windfall is not printing out unspooled. In 1990, many

there is no inheritance tax to go by, only capital-gains assessments and property. Still, 13 years after the original predictions, it appears the forecasters had failed to take into account the impact of assets living longer, or the possibility of a prolonged period of historically low interest rates that would hurt seniors' income. And there are people who, for philosophical reasons as well as ones of good estate management, prefer to endow charities rather than their children. "Not everyone feels compelled to leave something to the next generation," says Nancy Graham, a financial

by last 2003, the rate offered by banks on daily-interest savings accounts had dropped to less than one per cent.

**LAWSUITS** are certainly the highest-profile cause of diminished bequests. Some adult kids, sensing that their inheritance is being frittered away, launch legal action even before their parents pass on. In some cases, the trigger is a parent marrying and changing the will to include the new spouse. Grouping children also challenges succession plans where a family business is involved. Other launch suits when "their share"

of the estate is compromised by a large charitable bequest. Archie Robinson, a lawyer with Goodman and Carr LLP in Toronto, cites the example of a successful businessman who died and, in his estate plan, handed control of the company to a trusted colleague while his daughters were left to share the assets with a charitable organization. The daughters contested the will, and after a long battle in court, they won a slightly higher percentage of the assets. But the actual proceeds were dramatically cut by the huge legal costs. For that reason, Robinson adds, the majority of suits handled by the larger

firms involve bigger estates. "If mom and dad haven't left much money to fight over," he says, "no one can afford to litigate."

One example of this custom that resonates with boomers is the fight over Jim Herdner's will. There were news items when the stock 'n' rail giant died back in 1970 due to bad management and worse debts, he was legally broke at the time. But thanks to his enduring popularity and rich royalties from CIBC stock, the estate is now estimated to be worth US\$80 million. So it's no surprise family members are fighting over the spoils. In September, in fact, a court ruled against his brother

Leslie's claim for a share—Al Herdner, who had inherited the rights to his son's music, had deliberately left Lesli out of the will. The court also chastised the current executor for failing to disburse funds to others who were included in the will.

Still, the key factors affecting the size of the coming wealth transfer are more mundane than family melodrama. People don't make over wills, or die without being explicit. They fail to buy insurance to offset unexpected costs for everything from long-term care to funerals. They don't have a tax strategy for disposing of assets in a way that reduces

own. Few merge their tax strategy, investments and insurance into a coordinated estate plan. And, human nature being what it is, many parents don't like talking about their plans with the kids, leaving it to lawyers or accountants to explain their wishes. "In my experience, people often have to have some kind of epiphany, or some brush with fate, before they are prepared to really focus on these issues," FPL's Graham says.

As well, the economy hasn't focused resources on, with low interest rates proving especially cruel. Savings perform low-risk investments, and yields on bonds and GICs have fallen, reducing the income their holders planned to live on. So the question for many scenarios is whether they'll have something to leave the kids, it's whether they'll have enough to support themselves. Never mind the water payments—they have to contend with rising property taxes and health-care costs. "If people have super safe portfolios, they're likely to get a five per cent return annually," says Jane Baker, a FPL's adviser in Toronto. "That means you need to have \$1 million to generate \$50,000 a year—before taxes—and, let's face it, most people haven't saved \$1 million. So they are having to spend more of their capital on living expenses."

Just as important, says economist and demographer David Foot, is increased life expectancy. Parents are hanging onto their nest eggs longer, and the shared assets are then passed on to surviving spouses, usually women. This pattern, in turn, affects the anticipated pot to the economy projected when pensions were still running millions, as older people are generally more conservative in their spending. And if parents are dying in their 80s, their heirs are likely to be in their late 50s and 60s by the time they inherit—when they, too, are more likely to be conservative, pushing the money toward their own retirement rather than splurging on travel and shopping sprees. "The money's being transferred from one sewer to another," Foot says, "so it's going to have no significant effect on the economy at all."

Given the trends—declining education and rising retirement costs—the natural assumption is that the benefit of inheritance will be low for future generations. Some forecasters have even suggested boomers would take on more debt in anticipation of being bailed out by taxpayers, and that they'd have nothing left to handover to their own kids. But as with so many of the original



## HOW TO AVOID FAMILY WARS

Nothing guts an estate like a court battle. Protect yourself.

It may be that most estates hope to leave something behind for loved ones. Still, they (and their family members) often don't do enough to make sure that happens. Poorly planned estates get ransacked by taxes. Hozy investments, insufficient insurance and foggy bequests to prepare a comprehensive plan, people have to make their wishes clear to the professionals handling their affairs and, especially, their kids. Here's a basic checklist: **KNOW YOUR WORTH** Add up the value of your real estate, pension benefits, stock portfolio, RRSPs and so on. **GET GOOD ADVICE** From lawyers, accountants, insurance experts and investment pros. **BUY THE RIGHT INSURANCE** Premiums add to retirement expenses, but insurance policies covering extended health care or funeral

costs can save the estate thousands later. **CONSIDER TAXES** Portfolios can be designed to produce income, protect capital, and still be subject to the least amount of tax when the estate changes hands. **WRITE A WILL**, the blunt instrument. With a lawyer, lay out the plan, and keep it up to date—it may require changes when grandchildren are born, parents remarry, offering divorce and assets are sold.

**REMEMBER POWER OF ATTORNEY** It may take two people—one to handle property assets and another to deal with health matters. **TELL THE KIDS** No one except Woody Allen likes talking about death, but parents need to explain to their heirs exactly what's coming, and why. A little discomfort now can prevent bad feelings—or worse—tomorrow. **A.D.**

provisions, these, too, are misleading. Foot says the postwar generation's biggest expenditures have been on health care—most by real estate—so debt on hard assets are in good shape, despite the higher debt. And even

if boomers leave smaller estates, their kids will do fine. "Our parents had four kids," Foot says, "and we've had two. We need far less wealth to be able to transfer just as much." Of course, that's just a prediction. ☐

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# PREFAB FABULOUS

Forget trailer parks. The new wave of factory-made housing is high-tech, stylish and eco-friendly.

**IGNORE THE FACT** that some of these homes look like the high school portable where you failed calculus. This could be your future. At least that's the hope of a handful of architects and home builders bent on modernizing "prefab"—factory-made housing that faded repeatedly in the last century to push aside standard, site-built houses in North America.

Made mostly of glass and steel and equipped with eco-friendly technologies, these houses are nothing like the real trailer home kits once sold out of Sears, Roebuck (analogies to the cookie-cutter Victorians and Tudors most prefab manufacturers peddled in the past). "A major strike against prefabrication has always been aesthetics," says Avi Friedman, an

architecture professor at McGill University and a high-profile advocate of prefab. "Unsurprisingly, in North America, the trailer was the largest prefab success, so this is always the first thing people think of."

Recently, however, some Canadian and American designers have finally managed to marry style and substance in prefab homes aimed at people who seek both sleek looks and modern convenience. Royal Homes Ltd. has been building modular housing for 32 years, but the Wingham, Ont., company is now rising in status as a modernist style with the Royal Q series, designed by Toronto's Robert Sinner Architects. The 620-sq.-foot units (there will also be an 850-sq.-footers), with a price tag of \$130,000, is built entirely in the company's state-of-the-art factory.

"By keeping production indoors, the materials stay dry," says Martin Rubin, the project's chief architect, "and construction is much more precise." Theft, damage and waste during assembly are also eliminated by the controlled environment. "Our houses are driven to the site in one or more pieces, lifted from the truck by a crane and hooked

up to utilities like water and electricity in a day," says Lloyd Alvar, an architect who manages Royal Homes' Toronto office. All of which, he says, translates into higher quality and better value for the buyer.

One of the key selling points of the new wave of prefab is the attention to environmental sustainability and energy efficiency. Consider the Glitchhouse, designed by San Francisco architect Michelle Kaufman: its choice of flooring includes bamboo (which is more plentiful and easier to grow than hardwood) and the home can be powered by solar panels or a wind generator. Royal Homes, which markets the Glitchhouse here, has yet to sell a modern prefab in Canada, but the category is so new the company is still working on a demo model.

Considering their good looks and reasonable prices, why haven't style-conscious urbanites been clamoring for such modular designs before? For starters, you need well-laid land on which to put the units, which may lease from local authorities at more than \$2,000 a sq. foot, and there is both tricky and very expensive to erect. For that



Look, ma, no wheels! Clockwise from top left: Silhouette is all sliding doors and windows; Devil Home, a compact-looking modular house, nestles in with extra modules; the two-bedroom Royal Q.



reason, they are primarily being marketed as cottages or country homes.

Then there's the negative public perception of prefab—a kind of trailer-park backlash. The latter is something Allison Ansell, editor-in-chief of *Dwell* magazine and co-author of a book on the new prefab style, has trouble understanding. "A Porsche is built in a factory and no one says, 'Oh God, my Porsche is factory-built,'" she says. "This is the best way to build a home. In Japan and parts of Europe, there's no stigma attached to prefab—it's all about economies of scale and efficiency."

Friedman agrees that North Americans could learn from how Sweden and Japan, two of the world's prefab heavyweights, do things when it comes to housing. "In Japan, they assemble houses wearing white jackets and white gloves," he says. "They regard houses as industrial-design products. We view them as construction products."

In the end, money is the determining factor for most consumers, and Friedman's own research indicates there are currently no savings to going prefab because the slow sales on this continent are depriving manufacturers of economies of scale. Still, he thinks record-high housing prices may result in a splurge in prefab buying over the next decade, predicting a jump from the current 5 per cent to 10 per cent of all homes in North America to upwards of 35 percent. If that happens, next time you move you may be able to take your house with you. **F**

# IT HAUNTS US STILL

The fault lines of modern history branch back to the cataclysm of 1914

**IT'S BEEN 90 YEARS** now since the Gun of August began to fire, and the smoke has yet to clear from the world they made. The fault lines of modern history—from the quagmire in Iraq through Yugoslavia's explosion to the Cold War and beyond—all branch back to the cataclysm of 1914-1918. The world, as it was before the Great War, crumbled ancient and complex roots, where the new growth it's spawned since will lead to still uncertain. Much of the globe was consumed by the war—in half of Europe and many of its colonial

possessions; entire nations were reshaped, re-peopled and renamed. Canada, too, changed profoundly, in ways large and small, and paid a heavy price for its involvement.

The Canada that found itself at war was sparsely peopled, overwhelmingly rural, mired in an economic slump and, as always, divided by language, faith and region. A population of eight million included three million Roman Catholic French Canadians who were largely indifferent about what they viewed as a British war, although a handful, patriotic or adventurist, did join in. English Canadians, on

the other hand, were exhibiting an insipient Canadian nation-ism, marked by suspicion of the U.S., resentment of British colonialism and—sometimes paradoxically—fervent imperialism. They were at odds in their enthusiasm for the conflict as the population of any European nation. Just as well since the young Dominion, self-governing in internal matters, remained a British colony in foreign affairs.

The makeup of the First Canadian Contingent perfectly illustrates our divisions, recruitment and yearnings in the days when most still thought in terms of a short, glorious war. Of its 36,267 volunteers, only 1,248 were French-speaking, more astonishingly, only 10,880 had been born in Canada. More than 23,800 were British-born, men with close ties to the Old Country who were also fleeing, during an economic depression, with No English Need Apply want ads. When the "Canadian" contingent reached England in October of 1914,

it didn't much impress observers. British officer J.F.C. Fuller, later to become a celebrated military historian and proponent of tank warfare, thought hand cramping might turn them into proper soldiers, provided "all the officers could be shot."

There's some truth in Fuller's comment: the Canadians never shook their reputation for ill-discipline and, in fact, later acquired other dubious tags, for savagery and for having the highest VD rate of all the Allied armies. But it was nonetheless a considerable national feat to get 36,000 men over-

seas within two months of the war's start. Much credit for that, if for little else, belongs to the minister of militia, Sam Hughes, a 61-year-old newspaper owner and military enthusiast, who combined domestic energy with history and extraordinary pigheadedness.

As volunteers poured in to the vast training camp he was building at Valcartier, near Quebec City, Hughes fruitlessly placed contracts for tents, boots, machine guns and other necessities. Many of the contracts went to cronies, and many eventually turned into scandals. His secretary signed a shovel with a hole in it for firing through, Hughes spent more than \$20,000 on it, apparently without realizing the shovel was good neither for digging nor shooting. His championing of the Canadian-made Remington rifle, even after it was proven to overheat in rapid fire, was a more lethal mistake.

The Canadians were sent to France in February 1915 and then to the strategic Belgian town of Ypres in mid-April. Within



days, the Germans launched their first major Western Front gas attack. For three days, more by sheer courage and determination than military skill, the new troops held their position against German attackers. It was a brutal introduction to the courage and confusion of trench warfare. A 1,300-strong

Canadian contingent was sent to attack a wood protected by German machine guns, after taking it at horrific cost, the 500 survivors were ordered to abandon it. Has deeds more indelible than when their losses inflicted. By the time British reinforcements reached the sector, Canada's

three-day baptism of fire had cost 6,036 dead, wounded and captured, far more than in the entire three-year Boer War.

The slaughter shocked the home front, but Canadians and their governments reacted like all the other belligerents. Part of the enduring mystery of the war is the way

nations on both sides of the divide absorbed their losses and dedicated themselves to trying harder. By 1915, the militia department was outspending the entire federal budget of 1914. The government turned for the first time to borrow from Wall Street, instituting the process of raising us from the

Historians say that the battle of Vimy helped form Canada as a nation.







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## WHAT REALLY BUGS ME

I'd like to claim my kids have never had head lice—but I'd be lying

I USED TO THINK that if I ever found one of my four children covered in bees, I'd simply wipe the swarming mass away. That despite a lifelong fear of bees (and insects), I would do anything to save one of my beloved kids. Of course, that was before I discovered court-ordered haircuts during the chee-chee on my five-year-old's scalp—and then I had to buy my first hair to hold back the shreds. The school had sent home a notice reminding parents it was that time of the year again, and would we please examine our children's heads for lice, but it had been registered. After all, my kids had always managed to evade the annual routine

inspection at their schools. I was even managing to feel a smug satisfaction in the knowledge that our family was somehow above all the yuckiness of lice-mess crawling all over our scalps, taking my steps of blood every here and there, and then laying nasty little oval-shaped eggs on our heads.

Between my seven-year-old son and his younger brother, I decided I'd better check him now. Good luck! I now had two little with head lice. I realized I should check my

husband that if even just one firmly meringed hen head lice, the entire family needs to be treated. Yipping that, the warning that today's lice has become a kind of super lice, with some able to resist even the most potent poison. When I consulted later with our family doctor, he confirmed that head lice are now very common and reassured me that they weren't a serious health problem. But that was never the issue in my household—it was the huge "ick factor."

The night of the discovery of our unwanted

lice was when I suggested some of the detangling shampoos, "ah, you know, just in case." The pharmacist warned me not to stockpile the shampoo and in never use it unless absolutely sure it's needed. Afraid she was about to move on to the next customer—and sending up (think he wasn't scratching his head at that very moment—) I pointed to my five-year-old and whispered, "My son might have them."

I went, the pharmacist leaned over the counter, looked at my son, leaned back, shook her head and said, "No, he doesn't." But I knew I had to get that detangling shampoo. "I'll take some away," I replied, promising that I'd check with my doctor before using it. I was now too deep in my lie about no one actually having bugs yet to change my story, and I needed enough shampoo to wash six heads. Maybe the dog as well.

With a line of head lice—no—line-up that seemed to have taken a few steps back—I wasn't going to stand around reading labels, so I ended up using three boxes of three different brands of shampoo into my cart.

I bought them under other stuff until I could check out. After ringing through my box of garbage bags, 48 rolls of toilet paper and 12 boxes of tissues, the cashier looked at all the shampoo and very casually said,

"Bees there, does that?" She then offered me her home wipe, which she said worked so much better than "those dangerous chemicals." At the exit (with my dangerous chemicals and special wipe in hand) another woman stopped me and said, "I hope you don't mind, but I overheard your conversation with the pharmacist and just wanted to tell you that my sister..." I left the store convinced my family is the only one in town to have never had bugs before. As for the shampoo, it worked.

Kathy Dobson is living lice-free in Cornwall, Ont. To comment, writekathy@me.com



parents, I sent Steve out to buy some of the shampoo that happened to kill lice in contact. Over an hour later, he came home empty-handed, saying he couldn't find a pharmacy open at that hour in our small city. Great. As there was nothing we could do until morning, I sent everyone to bed. Well, except for me. I had been and been off laundry ahead of me.

The next day, I kept circling by the pharmacy in our local department store, waiting for people to clear out so I could talk to the pharmacist alone. The opportunity never arose, so I ended not to cringe as everybody

passed. I sent Steve out to buy some of the shampoo that happened to kill lice in contact. Over an hour later, he came home empty-handed, saying he couldn't find a pharmacy open at that hour in our small city. Great. As there was nothing we could do until morning, I sent everyone to bed. Well, except for me. I had been and been off laundry ahead of me.

Kathy Dobson is living lice-free in Cornwall, Ont. To comment, writekathy@me.com









## Tony Bennett finishes John Intini's sentences

More than 50 years into his career, **Tony Bennett** has sold in excess of 50 million albums. And he still has a velvet voice and an impeccable sense of style: wearing, during a recent visit to Toronto, a fine wool suit and a perfectly dimpled bow tie. Next week, Bennett releases *The Art of Romance*—which includes *All for You*, his first stab at songwriting. The 75-year-old New Yorker finished Intini's *Awardwin* Editor John Intini's sentence:

AT MY FIRST WEDDING—in 1952, female fans showed up wearing black veils. That's when I knew I had lost my private life.

PEOPLE DON'T REALIZE THAT I HAD A SISTER—was highly intellectual. All you ever heard was the gossip.

THE BIGGEST MURDER I'VE HAD TO OVRCOME... is being honest. Hank Williams' and *Elvis Holiday's* styles were very honest and that's why their music is so memorable.

THE WORST THING A PERSON CAN SAY ABOUT ME... is that all believers are misators. When I was a boy the preachers in movies—like *Humphrey Bogart* and *George Raft*—were just bad guys. They weren't always Italian like they are now. It's why I don't like the *Reparos* or *The Godfather*.

MY TIME AS A SOLDIER IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR... made me a pacifist. War is the lowest form of human behaviour.

FOR MORE "JOHN INTINI'S SENTENCES" VISIT [WWW.MACLEAN'S.CA/PEOPLE](http://WWW.MACLEAN'S.CA/PEOPLE)



### ESSENTIAL BOOKS

Intini's list went to New York to make one book, with a collection of his 100 choices from authors like Anthony Bourdain.

1. *Man in a Grey Suit* by John Intini, published by a British publisher, and in 2011. 2. The writer's sentence is a collection of 100 choices from his 100 choices.

## Books | In the eye of the hurricane

Paul Quinington's *Salvatore* is a study of "weather-worn"—people who chase extreme weather conditions around the world—in a fictional Caribbean island as a violent storm bears down on it. They're all changed souls, especially Calabash and Beverly, at 1000 weather location. One of their number, Jimmy Newton, is the most famous storm chaser in the world, an insatiable risk-taker and obsessive videographer who takes shots no one else would dare attempt. But, it's a deadly promising plot for Quinington, one of Canada's best writers—and if some of the reviews don't make it out of Quinington's Cap Society all the better.

But *Salvatore* doesn't get a novel's shelf life for the *Letter From the Editor* and Quinington's loving immersion of the nature of obsession and obsession—that truly distinguishes his book. (The title is a reference to the storm that killed 1,000 in Salvador, Bra., in 1962.)



**QUININGTON**  
Paul  
Quinington  
Paul Quinington  
Salvatore, Bra., in 1962.

## Best Sellers

### Fiction

1. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
2. *THE LAST OF THE SUMMER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
3. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
4. *A COMPASSIONATE GOD* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
5. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
6. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
7. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
8. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
9. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
10. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
11. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)

### Non-fiction

1. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
2. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
3. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
4. *THE HUNTER* by Michael Ondaatje (2)
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John Intini | ON PASSWORDS



## Do you wanna know a secret?

Help, I've fallen into a sea of PIN numbers, log-ins and the like—and I can't get out

IT'S MY THIRD call in a row, and I recognize Beth's voice immediately. I'm hoping she doesn't recognize mine, but it's obvious by her sudden shift from friendly to frosty that she does. "You probably know why I've called," I say. "I've gone nuts." Beth responds flatly, having dealt with my type dozens of times already today. "Password problem?" She was right, I had forgotten it again.

Like millions of others, I'm stuck in password hell—where the devil is in every six, seven and eight-digit string. With computer key chains, email and website log-ins, bank and credit card PINs (ATM, online and phone), voice-mail codes (cell, home and work), home alarm systems and the like combined, things have spun out of control. I have 32 seconds (that's all I can think of).

Beth explains what the best way to protect against identity theft and fraud is to never reuse or write down your passwords and always be paranoid in your selections—don't use pet names, your mother's maiden name and especially the names of girlfriends. And since hackers can crack sophisticated codes in two

doesn't apply to anything in the real world, it's very hard to remember them, then," says Albert Katz, a psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario who specializes in memory. "People often make up sentences—it's a useful group—in correlation with their passwords, rather than try and recall an acronym or related lesson every time they log in."

That's why some are shifting to private passwords. Password technology, for example, grants access when a user identifies the correct sequence of lines from a random access of an anonymous keyboard. Since the phone can't be written down or shared with another person, they're more secure. And usually, says Katz, one cause for the human brain to remember their numbers and letters.

Better still is the day when access to everything will be just a fingerprint or vein scan away. But considering that biometrics is still a relatively new technology, poor Beth (or whoever picks up on the call) will remain my Internet-banking savior. That's, of course, as long as I can crack one more code. "All you

need I do," says Beth, "is tell me the secret password you set up for security purposes." What? If I can't remember my PIN, how do you expect me to remember some secret word? But as they third try, and after a bit of coaxing, I guess it and am once again allowed access to my very small fortune. I thank Beth, but don't make any promises. Both of us know we'll speak again soon.

To comment:  
john.intini@rogers.com

## Plastic | Hey, little spender

Several years ago, MasterCard, in partnership with MasterCard, created a product called Cool MasterCard. The card came equipped with a built-in MasterCard, a cardboard backup and a credit card reader machine that declared "Credit Approved" with every swipe. Not surprisingly, parents and consumer advocate groups attacked the program as encouraging reckless consumerism among children.

Now, the notion of credit cards for kids is no longer make-believe. Last month, MasterCard launched the Hello Kitty Debit MasterCard in the U.S., described as "one of the most fashionable payment options around." The card was designed with 18-to-19-year-old girls in mind. Now if we're parents, we'll be in advance. We'll go out and spend it.

The Hello Kitty card is the latest in a series of "plastic" options for children. Last year, teen magazine *Teen* had teamed up with Visa to offer preloaded Visa Gift Cards. And the same company had already launched, in 2000, the VisaKids card for teens, calling it "a powerful tool to learn financial responsibility." But not everyone agrees these products are such a good idea. Paul W. Bernstein, a Vancouver-based financial consultant and author of *Aftermath* (Bantam & Scribner), says giving your child free reign with a credit card encourages financial dependency. "If anything," he says, "it creates an irresponsible consumer down the road who thinks that, actually, money does grow on trees."

LAURIE GEORGE

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